COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"Unless the next change in the ministry be speedily followed by great changes in the system of ruling the "country, a new race of men will arise, and what changes they may produce God only knows. This has "long been my opinion, and, though I have often expressed it, I have yet met with no one to convince "me that it is erroneous."——LETTER TO A FRIEND, in the Autumn of 1804.

LETTER

TO THE RT. HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM,

I. *Upon the Westminster Election.* II. *Upon the Situation of the Younger Sheridan in the Army.* III. *Upon the general State of Public Affairs.*

SIR, *Botley, 27th Nov.* 1806.

The conduct of the younger SHERIDAN, during the recent election in Westminster, suggested to my mind the propriety of addressing a letter publicly to you upon the subject of *his situation in the army*, that army for the exciting and preserving of emulation in which you have shown such a laudable anxiety. But, Sir, upon taking up my pen for this purpose, my thoughts naturally fly back to the time, when *you* as well as I had to encounter the effects of the elder Sheridan's mob-courting cant and misrepresentations; and, thus reflecting, I cannot refrain from endeavouring to give you, who were in Norfolk during the whole of the period of the contest in Westminster, a tolerably accurate idea of the occurrences with respect to this our former assailant, who, during the existence of the Addington ministry, was, as he succeeded in persuading the House of Commons, the only man possessing popularity in an extensive degree.

I.——You have read, Sir, in the Register of the 8th instant, page 715, an account of the reception, which Mr. Sheridan met with upon his first appearance at the husttings in Covent Garden; but, Sir, the scene was far beyond the ordinary powers of description. Mr. Sheridan, according to his usual custom, kept every thing waiting for his arrival; and, when he did arrive, he appeared to have been hurried away in an unprepared state. By surplus of misfortune he placed himself on the side of Sir Francis Burdett. Good heavens, what a contrast! An involuntary shout broke forth from the multitude, through whose voice honest nature seemed to exclaim: "look on *this pic-* "*ture*, and on *this*!"——It was not until this moment that Mr. Sheridan was convinced, or, perhaps, that he suspected, that, so far from being popular, he was an object of unanimous unpopularity and odium. I could have told him of the fact several days before; and so could his friends; but facts of such a nature friends are not, in general, very ready to communicate.——The general hissings and groanings, with which Mr. Sheridan and his supporters were received, have been before spoken of; and some notice has, in the venal daily prints, been taken of the particular reproaches of a person, whose *face* Mr. Sheridan attempted to render a subject of ridicule, an attempt which I will not repay by giving a description of Mr. Sheridan's face. This person, as soon as the speeches and the uproar were at an end, approached as near as he could to the hustings, where, raising his arm and shaking his clenched fist, he, in a loud and clear voice, audible within as well as without the hustings, thus began: "Sheridan! many days "and weeks and months and years I have "longed for an opportunity of daring to "speak the truth of you to your face; that "opportunity is now come, and I will not "let it slip." He then began, and, though it took him no little time, he went through the whole of his character and conduct, private and public, moral and political. His description was nervous and eloquent; and, when I tell you that it was *perfectly true*, you will not, I am sure, expect me to repeat it in print, notwithstanding all Mr. Sheridan's professions respecting the liberty of the press.——From the reports of the venal press, Sir, you would imagine, that Mr. Sheridan kept his temper through all this. Nothing is further from the truth. He did, indeed, vent a few of his threadbare jests; but, by the few who were able to hear them, they were received with expressions of disgust and contempt, and, at the close of the first day, he, in these words, took his leave of the people, of that people whom he had so long succeeded in deluding: "you have behaved like a set of "blackguards, particularly you, you broad-"faced bully, and d—— you, I'll stay "with you no longer."——The venal press

has told you, Sir, that this "broad-faced "orator" was *hired* by Mr. Paull; but, the fact is, that neither Mr. Paull nor any of his friends had ever spoken to the orator, nor, until after the day was over, did any of them know who he was. We then learnt, that his name was BURRAGE, and that he kept the Old Parr's Head in Swallow Street. But, while I say this, I for my own part, shall say, that I highly approved of his conduct; and was glad to find, that there was one man, at least, who had spirit enough to discharge so useful a public duty.——The venal prints have said, Sir, that Mr. Paull *hired a mob*; and, that very profound personage, MR. PETER MOORE, swore, that *he*, forsooth, would look to Mr. Paull for any violence that might take place. But, if any thing had been to be done by *hireing*, is it likely that Mr. Paull would have had the advantage? Was it possible for him to have the 50,000 young men, who, every evening conducted him from the hustings? Mr. Sheridan (and it was truly curious to hear it) requested Mr. Paull, on the first evening of the election, "to *speak to the mob*" to cease hooting him. "The mob!" exclaimed Mr. Paull. "They are *the people*, my very "good friends, and it is not for me to dic-"tate to them, as to the manner in which "they shall express their feelings."—— But, though Mr. Paull *hired* nobody, Mr. Sheridan, or his supporters hired people enough. On the first day, Mr. Paull, in compliance with custom, had a band, if I may so call them, of Marrow Bones and Cleavers; but, they were that night dismissed. The Sheridan party had not only a large body of this description, but, also 200 *Hudgeon men*. Yet this formidable corps, though aided by a large gang of Sir Samuel Hood's *sailors* (who would have been better employed on board ship), were unable to keep the field, when, towards the close of each day, the people were assembled at the hustings. The fact is, that the whole of the *free* part of the people were with Mr. Paull; and if he had not been extremely moderate in his conduct, his opponents never could have brought any body to poll for them —— You have seen, Sir, that the heroic Sheridan *kept away* from the hustings for several days; and, after what has already been published, you will want nothing to convince you, that the *illness* ascribed to a *blow* received at the hustings, was a mere pretence. Such it certainly was. No blow ever was, in my opinion, given. Mr. Sheridan, that same night, drank many toasts and made a long speech, at the Crown and Anchor, and he was, the next day, seen by many persons canvassing from door to door. Of the letter, which has appeared in the newspapers, under the name of the pretended *striker*, you will easily guess at the origin; and, if this man was really guilty of a *breach of the peace*, and was, as he is said to have been, *committed* for it, upon oath made against him, it will not fail to occur to you to ask, by what *sort of law* it was that Mr. *Sheridan* was able to *order him to be released!*——After Mr. Sheridan had been spurred on to come again and show that face of his at the hustings, he took occasion, one evening, to put in his claims to public gratitude on account of what he had done, or rather said, with respect to the *Volunteers*, of which *establishment*, he said, he had the honour to be a *colonel*.—Upon this the hisses and groans, which, from the effects of fatigue, had begun to subside, broke out again louder than ever. "*No* "*regiments of tax gatherers; no Major* "*Downes the undertaker; no palavering*: *no* "*canting patriotism*," were heard from ten thousand mouths at once. Finding that this did not take, he, as a prelude to another meditated stroke, began to pay some compliments to me, which compliments, coming from him, I took the earliest opportunity to say that I rejected with scorn. They, however, answered his purpose in obtaining silence, which he availed himself of to say, that he "detested my recommendation for "*breaking faith with the public creditors*;" which words were hardly out of his mouth when the air rang with a shout of indignant surprize; and this unusual clamour, in which every voice had been strained to its utmost, being followed by a short interval of comparative silence, a man, from the middle of the crowd, in a very distinct voice, uttered the following words: "*hear!* "*hear! hear! Sheridan; Richard Brinsley* "*Sheridan*, DETESTS BREAKING "FAITH WITH CREDITORS!" which words were echoed and re-echoed through every part of the immense multitude collected in Covent Garden and the adjoining streets and houses. The venal prints have recorded his observations levelled at me; but, they have taken special care not to notice the indignation and sarcasm drawn forth from the people by those observations.—Mr. Paull's address to the Electors, after the election, you have seen, Sir, in the Register, page 818. Mr. Sheridan's you may also have seen; and, if you have, I think I may venture to say, that so strong a mark of mental imbecillity never before met your eye. Is this the man of great talents? Whither, then, are those talents fled?

And what has chased them from their former abode? Is this the man, who has the modesty to rail against Mr. Paull, as a person unfit, from want of talents, to represent the city of Westminster? Could not the Whitbreads and the Moores and the Russells and the whole of the pompous pretenders to superiority of mind, make up any thing better than this senseless address, especially after having taken three days to write and alter and improve? Are we, indeed, to be told, that we shall all be ruined, unless we have men like these to rule us? In yourself, Sir, and in men like you, I, for my part, have no objection to acknowledge a real superiority; but, in men, such as we have had to contend with at Westminster, and of whom, at every step, we have *proved* ourselves to be the superiors in every thing of which men are laudably proud, base and despicable is the meanest man amongst us who acknowledges a superiority, and especially when the acknowledgment is, and with so much insolence too, demanded at our hands. ——Of the *high blood* of our opponents, and particularly of *the Sheridans*, I have before spoken, and I will not, therefore, offend your ears with their disgusting pretensions upon this score. But, Sir, it was impossible to hear the language of our opponents in general; the language of the several branches of but too many of the titled families, of the bankers, of the farmers of taxes, of loan-makers, and others, without looking back to the *real causes* of the destruction of the French Government, and to the conduct of the titled families when the French revolution broke out, and when the unhappy king stood in need of the defence of the titled families. And, what had we done, that we were to be treated as persons too low and insignificant to be heard in public? We had only claimed the exercise of that right, which the King's writ not only called upon us, but commanded us, to exercise. We had called upon all the free electors to choose a candidate free from the influence of either king, or minister; and, were we, for this, to be treated as low and insignificant men? We have convinced our adversaries, that we are not insignificant even now; and, let fortune but give us another opportunity, and we will produce in their minds, if they are not completely stultified, the further conviction, that ours is not a sinking propensity.——Mr. Paull, as you have seen, Sir, obtained not only much *more suffrage* than either of the other candidates, but much more than had ever been before obtained by *any* candidate for the representation of the city of Westminster. And, Sir, this was done without any unfair means. We made no attempt to deceive or seduce the people. No sentiment was expressed by us, that I myself had not expressed in print, when addressing myself to the dispassionate judgment of my readers, who, from the very nature of my publication, are, in general, to be found in what we commonly call the higher ranks of life. I never addressed myself to the ignorance and discontent and prejudice of the people; nor has Mr. Paull done it now. No influence, other than that which was visible to all the world, did any of us use; and, as to myself, though there were many persons in Westminster, on whom I might have imposed almost a command to vote for Mr. Paull, I defy any man to say, that I even *solicited* a vote from any person under obligations to me. The law says, that "elections ought to be *perfectly free*;" and the dictates of the law I have, both in Hampshire and in Westminster, strictly obeyed. To say the truth, however, no commands were, on our part, necessary. We found all the *free* voice of the people for us; and, amongst those who were not free, we invariably met with hearty wishes for our success. The united influence of the government, the aristocracy, and the dependent clergy, operating upon avarice, upon self-interest, and upon self-preservation, was, with the aid of splitting votes, too numerically powerful for us; but, we had with us all the truly independent and virtuous men in the middle class of society. If the list of our voters were examined, it would be found, that we had not for us one play-actor, not one vagabond, not one of those immense numbers who live by means, which are notoriously illegal, or immoral. Yes, Sir, it will always be our boast, that, out of the 4,481 persons, who voted for Mr. Paull, only 335 voted *for Mr. Sheridan*; and, it will be amusing enough for you to hear, that *Mr. Sheridan* has the honour to number amongst his voters every one who voted at all of those godly persons, the members of the *Society for the Suppression of Vice!!!* Mr. BALDWIN, to whose name, though he verges upon threescore, is generally prefixed, for what reason you may probably guess, the infantine appellation of BILLY; this gentleman, who is a *Commissioner of Taxes, Paymaster of the Police-mens' salaries*, and *a member of the House of Commons*, in which latter capacity he, of course, votes the money that he himself receives on his own account; this gentleman, who was as busy and as clamorous in the cause of Mr Sheridan as if he had never been a dependent of the Duke of Portland; this gentleman had the modesty to say, upon

the hustings, that he would have the names of Mr. Paull's voters published, "*that none "of them might ever be admitted into gen-"tlemen's company.*" Now, what will Billy Baldwin say, when *I publish* the names of all the placemen, pensioners, and the relations of placemen and pensioners; of all the tax-gatherers, magistrates, police-men, and dependent clergy; of all the play-actors, scene-shifters, candle-snuffers, and persons following illegal, or immoral callings? What will Billy Baldwin say, when I publish the names of all the persons of these classes, who have voted for Mr. Sheridan, and when I take care to show the people of England the *sums* which the voters of the former classes *receive from them in taxes?* He surely will not complain of illiberal dealing? Billy Baldwin, as the organ of our high-blooded adversaries, has thrown down the gauntlet; and shame upon our cause if there be a single man amongst us so base as to be afraid to take it up!——You have, doubtless, read, Sir, a description of the *chairing* of the two "*favourite*" candidates, as they are called by the venal writers of the daily press; and, until you read Mr. Paull's last address, it will certainly have appeared odd to you, that, *favourites* as they were, they should not have followed the invariable custom of being chaired *round Covent-Garden.* They no more dared to attempt it, than General Regnier dared to attempt being chaired through our army in Egypt. They slipped away from the hustings, carefully keeping from the people all knowledge of their intentions; and, while the people were waiting in Covent Garden, they got to their CAR, through a narrow passage, which leads from St. Paul's Church into Henrietta Street. The car, which had been constructed by the people of *Drury Lane Theatre,* was surrounded by beadles, constables, police-officers and police magistrates, to whom, even their own venal prints inform us, had been added the numerous officers of the Thames Police. "*The people,*" of whom they talk, as *huzzaers,* consisted of the play-actors, scene-shifters, candle-snuffers, and mutes of the Theatre, aided by a pretty numerous bevy of those unfortunate females, who are, in some sort, inmates of that mansion. So that, the procession did, altogether, bear a very strong resemblance to that of BLUE-BEARD. The "*favourite*" candidates were almost entirely hidden by large *branches of laurel,* which the Property-Man, as they call him, of Drury Lane Theatre, had placed round the car; but, notwithstanding this, and notwithstanding the constables and police officers (some of them on horseback and armed with cutlasses) were placed six deep on each side of the car, the *mud* found its way to the inside of it; and, as the venal prints inform us, one man was actually seized, and committed to prison, for this act of throwing mud at the "*favourite*" candidates! About the time that they had got in safety to their place of dining, Mr. Paull set off from Covent Garden to his house, conducted by thousands upon thousands of men. Soon afterwards Mr. Paull, together with Sir Francis Burdett, set out from Charles Street to the Crown and Anchor; and, though it was now dark, the zeal of the people overcame even that inconvenience; for, the street quickly became as light as if it had been day. There needed *no money* to be given to buy torches. The people felt, that they were asserting their own rights; that they were engaged in their own cause; and, Sir, if I am told that they were *foolish,* let me never again be told, that they discover their *good sense* and their *patriotism* when they draw the carriages and light the way of such men as Lord Nelson.——Let us now look back upon the "favourite" candidates. As to the Commodore, few people, I believe, grudged him the honour of being the colleague, of being encircled in the embraces, of that man, from whose political touch Lord Percy had recoiled; and, as to Mr. Sheridan himself, though he talked of *a victory,* he well knew, he severely felt, that the 19th of November, the day when he was returned for Westminster, was the day of his everlasting political disgrace. Before Mr. Paull offered himself as a candidate, no notion existed in the mind of Mr. Sheridan that he should have any even the slightest opposition to encounter. He expected that the election would pass off as Lord Percy's had done; and, I dare say, his speech for the occasion, was already prepared. He would have considered himself as the *successor of Mr. Fox*; so he would have been considered by the greater part of the country; and, he would have taken care to make the minister consider him as having the people of Palace-Yard always ready to petition, or remonstrate, at his nod. In short, the cup of his ambition was just touching his lip, when we came and dashed it to the ground. The charm we dissolved; all his arts of delusion we baffled; we exhibited him in his true colours; and, in those colours he will be seen unto the end of his days. Previous to the publication of Mr. Paull's first address Mr. Sheridan's friends gave it out, that he had refused any assistance from the ministry, being resolved to be the candidate of *the people.* What, then, Sir, must have

been his feelings, when he was, at last, compelled to go, surrounded with his friends, and humbly implore the protection of the minister; aye, of that very man, whose public character and conduct, and whose talents as a statesman, had, for years, been subjects of his almost incessant censure and his affected contempt!——Sir, I cannot see *him*, thus stripped of his independence by an overweening confidence in his powers of delusion; I cannot see him upon a level with the holder of a Treasury-Borough, while I see *you* a representative of your native county, having had recourse to no mean arts, but relying upon your own virtue and upon the friendship of a truly independent and honourable man; I cannot view this contrast without reverting to the time, when Mr. Sheridan, conscious of a hundred-to-one majority at his back, reveled in the delight of misrepresenting your arguments and your views, and of exciting a prejudice against you, amongst the very people, by whom, politically speaking, he has now been trampled in the dirt.——Here I should dismiss this part of my subject; but, the following passage in a publication of Mr. Sheridan demands a remark or two:—— "To this I "can only repeat the answer I gave to a si- "milar remark at the Thatched House, that "I am far from being anxious to obtrude "on the notice of the public Mr. Pauli's "praises of me, and still more reluctant to "assist in circulating *a very coarse, though "impotent, attack on the Duke of Northum- "berland and Earl Percy.* And as to Mr. "Cobbett, I must again beg leave to differ "from the committee. Believe me there "can be no use in continuing to detect and "expose the gross and scurrilous untruths "which his nature, his habits, and his "cause, compel him to deal in. Leave him "to himself; rely on it, there is not a man, "woman, or child, in Great Britain, who "believes one word he says. With regard "to the passage repeating the scandalous "words, he continues to assert, I spoke on "the hustings, notice of a different sort will "be taken of that."——I will not stop to ask who is most likely to be believed, *Mr. Sheridan* or *me*; but, I cannot refrain from observing with what ingenuity he is attempting to shift "the *coarse and impotent attack* "on the Duke of Northumberland and Earl "Percy" from his *own shoulders* to *mine*. I merely asserted that *he* had made such an attack, in addressing himself to a gentleman who was ready to make oath of the fact. So far from joining in this attack, I have, upon all occasions, expressed my decided disapprobation of it, well-knowing, as I do, that the Duke of Northumberland stands as high in virtue, private and public, as he does in rank and in real dignity. The conduct of this nobleman, and all the persons acting under him, has been, during the contest at Westminster, truly exemplary and constitutional. They have, in no instance that I have heard of, attempted to interfere in the election. The manner in which the Duke withdrew his son from the city was most dignified and patriotic; and the public have only to regret, that the laudable example of both father and son was not followed by others who ought to have been proud to follow it. A fact has come to light, too, which I have great pleasure in stating, because it will operate as a correction of an error, into which, with many others, I was led with regard to Lord Percy's election, namely, that there had, from the beginning, been a secret understanding between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Sheridan. It now appears, from unquestionable authority, that there was no such understanding; but that Mr. Sheridan, having his own objects with respect both to Westminster and Stafford in view, was the sole cause of all the public discontent which, upon that occasion, was so visible.——Mr. Sheridan and his committee interchange resolutions and vows *not to publish any contradiction of my statements.* They are wise, Sir; for they well know, that I have stated nothing which is not *perfectly and notoriously true.*

II. The situation of the Younger Sheridan in the army was, Sir, when my foregoing Number was written, but imperfectly known to me. I observed, that he had *given up* the sword for the more profitable pen; but, I now find, that the sword, as far as the *profit* of it goes, is retained by this person of wonderful versatility of talent.——What the younger Sheridan was, in what line of life he was known, previous to the Autumn of 1803, it is quite unnecessary for me to say; but, at that time he became a cornet in the Prince of Wales's regiment of Dragoons, which corps has now the honour to number the well-known Mr. *Mellish* amongst its officers! Hardly upon the list of cornets, the younger Sheridan became, as the newspapers told us, an *aide-de-camp* to the Earl of Moira, to whose wisdom was committed the protection of the Sister Kingdom, then threatened with invasion.——From the cornet of dragoons, however, our hero soon became a *Lieutenant of foot*, in the 7th Regiment, then and now at Bermuda.——Without having seen this his new corps, he be-

came, in Sept. 1805, a *captain* in the 27th Regiment of foot, of which *Lord Moira* is the *colonel*, and, though the regiment, which is now in Sicily, was then at home, our hero *did not go abroad with it.*—— Since the change in the ministry, our hero has become *Muster-Master General* in Ireland, a place, I find, worth three *thousand pounds sterling a year*; and, Sir, if I am rightly informed, *a large pension* has been settled upon the person, who before held that office, as an inducement for him to retire in order to make way for our hero.—— Now, Sir, leaving for a moment, this waste of the public money out of the question, upon what principle is it, that this captain of foot is permitted to be, not only absent from his regiment, but placed in a situation of enormous emolument, which necessarily compels him always to continue absent therefrom, and which, as necessarily, throws his share of the regimental duty and of *personal danger* upon some other officer, or causes that duty to remain unperformed? Is this the way, Sir, that military merit is rewarded? Is this the way to excite and preserve emulation in the army? Is it thus, that the officers of our conquering enemy have been formed, and have been led to the performance of those deeds, by which almost the whole of Europe has been subdued? Is it, Sir, I put the question close to your bosom; is it reasonable, is it just, is it politic, that this man should cost the country, at a time like this, not less than *five thousand pounds a year?* And are we, Sir, to be abused and reviled; are we to be called *jacobins* and *levellers*; are we to be accused of a wish to pull down the government, to destroy all property and all rank, morality, and religion, because we complain of such an application of the public money? Is this the way, Sir, to insure the affection of the people; to inspire them with ardour in defence of their country; to induce them chearfully to make sacrifices of property, and, if necessary, to shed the last drop of their blood in that defence? To your wisdom and your integrity I put these questions of infinite importance; and, be assured, Sir, that I entertain and utter the sentiments of millions.

III.——The general state of public affairs is, Sir, it cannot be denied, becoming, every day, more and more alarming. This fact nobody will attempt to controvert; but still, no one, as far as my observation goes, thinks seriously about the means of averting the threatening danger. As to the *people*, Sir, what I have witnessed in Westminster (whence the whole country will inevitably take its tone) has given me greater hope than any thing I have ever before contemplated. I found the people of that populous city full of public-spirit, of real loyalty, and of resolution to defend their country. In all the various situations, into which I was thrown during the contest, I heard, from no man, a single sentiment of disloyalty; and, the sentiments the most favourably received were those of attachment to the King and the constitution, and those of hatred towards their and our enemies—— This disposition in the people, Sir, if properly cherished and cultivated, leaves us nothing to dread, even from the conqueror of Europe, should he land upon our shores; but, Sir, when we view the situation of all the other states; when we contemplate the mighty means that will now be brought to bear against us; when we consider how *long* this war may yet last, and when we reflect on the burdens which the people now bear, and the *daily increase of that portion of them who have no property to preserve:* when thus we reflect, can we avoid entertaining the most anxious apprehensions as to what time may produce?——One of the worst features in the aspect of our affairs is, that we have *no plan*, whether for domestic or foreign operations. Every one sees the danger; every one agrees that something great must be done; but no one, that I hear of, attempts to tell us *what*. In my view of the matter a great change is necessary in our financial and fiscal affairs; for, after all, it is *here* that the feeling of the people is most alive; and, I imagine, it will not *now* be contended, that it is even *possible* to defend a country, where the people are indifferent as to its fate. Never could the French in so few days, have arrived at Berlin, if the people's hearts had been made of the right sort of stuff. A province, or a kingdom, may be invaded and over-run, indeed, in ceetain cases, though the whole of the people may be bent upon resistance; but, for an enemy to advance with post horse celerity, driving over regularly constituted armies as if it were over so many flint stones, and to take possession of cities and fortresses with as little difficulty as if they were sheepfolds, argues a total rottenness in the conquered state; a rottenness, from the fatal effects of which God preserve our country! ——In the Autumn of 1804, when a report prevailed, that a coalition was about to take place between the party of Mr. Pitt and the persons then composing the opposition, I publickly gave my reasons for thinking, that

such a coalition would prove destructive to the country, *because it would prevent any change in the system.* These reasons I stated more fully in a letter to a friend, which letter you, I believe, saw, and from which letter, as correctly as my memory will enable me, I have taken the motto to this sheet. I retain the same opinion still. Every day's observation serves to strengthen it; and, I ask you, Sir, whether you really think it chimerical? Only, for a moment, look back to the year 1800; and then turn to the scene now before you. What a change! Whither are fled the great, well-organized, and regularly combating parties? All is now disjointed. Men know not on what to rely. There is no rallying point; no fixed object of political confidence left. A general confusion of opinion prevails; and, it appears to me, that there needs nothing but some untoward event, however trifling, especially if it come near home, to plunge us into miseries of which no human foresight can anticipate the extent.——Yet, Sir, to avert this dreadful danger, there requires only such measures as the *present ministry* have it in their power to adopt. I, for my part, wish to see *no change of ministry.* If the present cannot save us, none of the sort that would follow it, can save us; and, Sir, these opinions of mine, are those of all the persons, with whom I have had an opportunity of conversing upon the subject:—— The present ministry have it completely in their power to endear themselves to the people; and, I am of opinion, that there requires nothing but *some one man* amongst them to speak the first word. The rest, even if their hearts were not with him, would be ashamed not to follow; and, Sir, perceiving, as you must from the general tenour of my observations, the specific measures which I have in view, and acting, as you always have done, from a disinterested desire to serve your country, why should I not hope, that *you* will be that man?

I remain,
Sir,
Your most humble,
and most obedient Servant,
W. COBBETT.

The following Resolutions, passed at a Meeting of the Electors of Westminster and other Friends in the interest of Mr. Paull, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, on Monday, the 24th of November, Major CARTWRIGHT in the Chair, I copy from the Morning Post, and insert with an anxious hope that they will lead to the wished for, and confidently expected result:

"Resolved, 1st. That it appears to this "Meeting, that while for Mr. Paull none "but pure and unbiassed votes of free and "independent Electors of Westminster "were given, we are assured that means "the most corrupt were resorted to by his "opponents, in order to obtain a majority "of votes on the poll, by which the free-"dom of election was violated, our rights "and privileges were invaded, and a dead-"ly blow was aimed at our independence.

"2dly. That it is become absolutely "necessary, for the preservation to our-"selves and to our posterity of the Elective "Franchise of Englishmen, that the most "vigorous and decisive measures be adopted "to obtain that justice, and the restoration "of those rights of which we have been so "illegally deprived.

"3dly, That it is the opinion of this "Meeting, that a Petition should be pre-"sented to Parliament against the return of "Mr. Sheridan, and that a Scrutiny should "also be demanded and carried on.

"4thly, That as the contest is not merely "between Mr. Paull and the other candi-"dates but is one which involves the dear-"est interests of the Independent Electors "of Westminster, as well as the whole "Elective Body of the Kingdom, it is be-"come a sacred duty incumbent on us to "afford every kind of assistance in our "power towards the accomplishment of "that object for which we have so ardently "struggled, and that the fortune of Mr. "Paull should not be made the sacrifice of "his zeal and firmness in the cause of the "People.

"5thly, That therefore a public Sub-"scription be opened, not only in the Me-"tropolis but in all the principal Towns in "the Kingdom, to defray the expences of "the Election and the proceedings subse-"quent thereto; and that books for this "purpose be opened at the Banking-houses "of Messrs. Ransom, Morland, and Co. "Pall Mall; Messrs. Brown, Cobb, and "Stokes, Lombard-street; Messrs. Alex-"ander Davison, Noel, Templer, and Co., "Pall-mall; and at the following places, "viz. Mr. Gibbons's, No. 1, Russell-street, "Covent-garden; Mr. George Puller's, "No. 139, Long-acre; Mr. Adam's, No. "73, Dean-street, Soho; Mr. Sandford's, "Conduit-street; Mr. Harris's, Berkeley-"square; Mr. J. Ellis's, No. 22, Charing-"Cross; Mr. Pells's, Broadway, West-"minster; Mr. Edwards's, No. 28, Queen's

" Row, Pimlico; and Mr. Hewlings's, No. " 11, Duke-street, St. James's-square; and " that the subscriptions received by the " latter gentlemen be as soon as possible " paid into one of the above banking- " houses in the names of the Treasurers. " That a Committee be appointed to super- " intend the appropriation of the money to " be raised, and to conduct the future ne " cessary proceedings, with liberty to add " to their numbers if they should see occa- " sion, and of whom three should be the " Treasurers.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

" It was also unanimously resolved, That " the thanks of this Meeting be given to " the Chairman, for his upright and im- " partial conduct in the Chair."

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

The Seventh Volume of the PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, comprising the period from the 6th of May to the close of the last session, is ready for delivery. In the Appendix to this Volume will be found all the Annual Accounts relating to the Finance and Commerce of Great Britain and of Ireland. The importance of these Accounts need not be pointed out; and, the Editor ventures to assert, that they are not to be found in any other work extant.——The First Volume of the " PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY OF ENG- " LAND, from the Norman Conquest to the " year 1803" is also ready for delivery.

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S SECOND ADDRESS TO THE ELECTORS OF BOSTON.

[For the First and Third Addresses see pp. 719 and 773.]

Gentlemen;—When I yesterday returned from the poll, I was joined by flags and music. Such an expression of the approbation of well-wishers I hope will not be repeated; as it has an appearance of uniting me with a *town party*. My business here, is to make a practical effort in favour of *public principle*.—I have not observed that any of your religious pastors have thought of alluring you to an adoption of their respective tenets by flags, and drums, and flageolets; and you will recollect, that when my namesake preached in the wilderness, it was without noise or pomp. His object was not to mislead but to admonish; not to make men the instruments of his private gain, but to teach them the truths of *religious salvation*; as it is mine to make you acquainted with the truths of *political salvation*. For no other object would I enter the doors of the House of Commons.—The most vital of those truths are—a Constitutional Representation in Parliament, and a constitutional arms-bearing of freemen. At present we have them not; but only substitutes, semblances, and shadows. Without the real substances, neither Pitts, nor Foxes could save the State; nor could, indeed, Angels from Heaven. That we have not the real substances is the fault of both Rulers and People. Those love arbitrary power too much; these exert themselves for liberty too little.—Should our Country be doomed to sink into slavery, for want of a Constitutional Representation in Parliament; or to lose its liberties by reason of an immense Standing Army, subject to a despotic law which is a particular exception to the general free law of the land; or should England, in consequence of previous hostility to the Constitution on the part of statesmen and of factions, become the seat of a bloody war waged with invaders who had subdued the rest of Europe; and should any of you, my countrymen, live to feel the calamities of that day, I trust you will remember, that there had been one Englishman, whose advice on Parliamentary Representation and the arms-bearing of Freemen, had it been taken, would have averted the evil; and have saved his country from the degradation and misery which has befallen the enslaved nations of Europe on this side of Muscovy, except the one which has swallowed up all the rest. To their cost, and to their unspeakable misery they have found, that without national liberty, there is no sure national defence: and that the standing armies which were sufficient to enslave, were not sufficient to protect them:—In that day, should it arrive, which God forbid! I trust you will also remember that that Englishman, with a hope of improved means for promoting what he has so long recommended, had tendered you his services as a representative.—If it be asked, why, on the present occasion he was so late in making that tender; he in return must ask, what, according to the custom of the borough, were his encouragements to stand forward at an earlier period? While he could entertain a hope, that you might be represented by two persons who could comply with the custom, and could yet be confided in for understanding the principles of the constitution and acting up to them, he abstained. When that hope was lost, he felt it a duty, in the present perilous situation of his country, to stand forward himself.—Whether he shall, or shall not, personally succeed in his

present attempt, is a very inferior consideration. In making it he has higher views. He believes he is doing political good. Of the borough he has seen enough to persuade him, that, if as much pains were taken to inculcate public principle as town party, the best things in favour of the liberties of our country might be expected from the electors of Boston I remain, Gentlemen, your obedient servant, JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

Nov. 2, 1806

MR. O'BRYEN'S MOST MARVELLOUS DISCOVERY.

(From the Morning Post.)

Sir; I have of late been so much before the public, that it would seem as if publicity were a passion with me! My *true* passion, in this respect, is of little consequence to any but myself; and, therefore, I say nothing upon the subject. The incumbencies, whether they are of design or accident, which lye upon me, I shall, at all events, discharge; and I shall do so with the same ease, under every species of hypercriticism, that marks, as I apprehend, the whole tenor of my humble career.——There are three topics which make me think it a personal public duty to write this letter. I shall take them in their separate and successive order.

1st. '*Three thousand Westminster votes for* 3,000 *pots of porter.*'

I understand myself to have been quoted by Mr. Paull, from the Hustings, at Covent Garden, as having given an opinion to the above effect. How Mr. Paull, whom I have never yet beheld, has been led into this error, it is quite impossible for me to know. That hon. gentleman will, however, I doubt not, be eager to acknowledge the mistake he has fallen into, when I thus declare, that I never uttered any such sentiment. Without pretending that Westminster is universally free from that borough contagion which I detest the more, the more I hear of it, I have never entertained, even for a moment, the slightest doubt, that of all the constituent bodies, in the realm, the general mass of the Westminster electors was, *by far*, the purest.

2d. '*My inaction in the present contest for Westminster.*'

To the various inquiries upon this subject my answer is this—that though no mortal admires, more than I admire, the splendid genius and complicated talents of Mr. Sheridan; though Mr. Sheridan is one of the oldest, if not the very oldest, of my political and personal connections; though I am sure it would be, since Mr. Sheridan thought fit to embark in it, directly subversive of all the declared principles of the Westminster electors, for the last 26 years, not to choose him; (for the objection to him, of holding an office, is neither English, nor even French, nor Grecian, nor Roman—it is of no clime or country, but totally original—it may be the best of doctrines, but it is wholly new)—yet, notwithstanding all the reasons, in favour of Mr. Sheridan, to which I advert, still, for me to engage (I never engage by halves in any thing) even for Mr. Sheridan, as I have been wont, in a Westminster contest, would to me, and in my interpretation of such a thing, be an irreverence to the grave, and making a sort of meritricious transfer of an undivided devoted affection, of which the principal comfort is the consciousness of itself. I blame no other persons, but, on the contrary, applaud them for their activity; but I must crave the liberty of judging, for myself, upon a subject in which there are delicacies unknown, and ever to remain unknown, to the public. It was my fixed intention never again to engage in any election contest; and from that intention nothing should have persuaded me to depart but the cause of an absent friend, assailed by an unworthy, and, as in the result it will prove, a fruitless combination.—If I could, consistently, abstain from exercising my suffrage, upon this occasion, it would be my wish not to be present, even for a moment, at a scene which can only renew afflicting remembrances in my mind; and (governed by that sound maxim which presumes innocence till guilt is proved) as, in my actual, total ignorance of the merits of the impeachment, I infer the innocence of the Marquis of Wellesley—as I think it would be honourable to the Noble Marquis, and justice to Mr. Paull, that the latter should have full scope and power to prosecute his accusation.—Upon these grounds, most assuredly, I should divide my vote with Mr. Paull, but for the reasons which, rendering such a course totally impossible, the reader will find in the third and most material section of this article, namely, as referable to

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

The aptitude to wrong, the bias to bad, which so strongly prevail in our frail natures; my persuasion that the extreme of fashion in opinion, like the extreme of fashion in dress, is generally faulty; the principled repugnance of my mind to every thing like clamour; all these would only have the effect of predisposing me in favour of Sir Francis

Burdett. About the least addicted of mankind, as I believe I am, to swear by the words of any body, not even the admirable, the unanswered, and unanswerable letter of Mr. Whitbread; no, nor even that which has caused it, Sir Francis Burdett's famous advertisement; not even that advertisement; nor all these causes put together, *could* produce the result upon my convictions which I shall presently relate to the reader.——In this world there exists not a man, in my opinion, in whom an assemblage of more amiable qualities is comprised than in Sir Francis Burdett. He is a *perfect gentleman*, in the truest definition of that term. With the mildness of an infant he unites the immoveableness of a stoic. Pride, in its bad sense, is utterly unknown to him, and, of all living beings, I conceive him to be the most perfectly free from every vestige of the arrogant and the supercilious. The public conduct of public men he discusses with freedom; but his lips are never polluted by a personal calumny. Such appears to me to be Sir Francis Burdett; whom, with a little more warmth of temperament, I should as soon covet as a connection, and cultivate as a friend, as any individual in existence.—Yet with even this opinion (can a higher be entertained?) of Sir Francis Burdett, it is totally impossible for me to support Sir Francis, or any man, who swears by Sir Francis, "as a master."—What I am about to state to the reader is very remarkable, and is, at least, as a curiosity, worth his attention — In September, 1802, I wrote a letter to Mr. Fox, then at Paris, in which was the following sentence:—"I think I have fathomed "the mind of Sir Francis Burdett; and "have made a most marvellous discovery. "It is not a subject for the bustle of Paris; "it will serve for a talk in the solitude of "St. Anne's." Upon the very same day, in a letter from me to the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn, was a passage to the following effect: "I have just stated, in a letter to "Mr. Fox, that I have made a most extra-"ordinary discovery of what I conceive to "be in the political contemplation of Sir "Francis Burdett. I shall impart it only "to Mr. Fox; he may to your Grace, if he "likes."——About three weeks before the recent dissolution of parliament, touching upon Sir Francis Burdett, incidentally, among other topics, in a conversation with a noble commoner in high office, I mentioned the circumstances of my letters to Mr. Fox and to the Duke of Bedford, as above referred to. The noble person to whom I allude, asked me, 'what the discovery was?' Though I had wished the question had not been put to me, yet, as my confidence in that noble minister is unbounded, I unreservedly communicated to him what the reader shall presently hear. A syllable of my thoughts, upon this point, I never have dropped in any conversation even with Mr. Cobbett, for whose rare powers, and still more rare incorruptibleness, I make, (not the less that I often differ from him) an open proclamation of my unqualified respect. (To see so many persons, so high in my esteem, in discord, as I see at the present moment, is most painful to me. My sympathy is not the less, that I am, myself, at war, where I had rather be at peace; and the rule on which I rely for steering me in safety through all these storms is—in matters of opinion to state what I think—in matters of fact, to state the truth.)—To do any thing in the dark that might seem insidious; to utter any thing in privacy, which would look like disaffecting a powerful connection from a man for whom my personal esteem is infinite; this is so foreign from my character, that my tongue would refuse its function in saying any thing other than 'in the face of day' upon so peculiar a subject. Some may think, with the poet, that 'the glorious fault of Angels and of Gods,' is expiated by the magnitude of the aspiration, and that such reserve, on my part, was not called for. At all events, up to this hour, I have kept my mind to myself. Many a smile, however, have I had in my sleeve, at many a sapient friend of mine, hard at work as many of them were, after his first election, (the period of my discovery, supposed or real) for Sir Francis, who entertained not even the element of an opinion in common with any one of them. For upwards of four years, whilst the crowd was puzzled with '*hired kings*,' and many other inexplicabilities, I can truly affirm, that, to me, 'Wharton was as plain,' as if I had surveyed the interior of Sir Francis Burdett's mind, uneased by its tegument of flesh; and further, that 'the best of princes' and of 'patriots,' excited in *me* only a smile of confirmation in my long settled convictions. What then was this grand discovery of mine? The reader shall have it in the very words I used to both the dead and the living minister:—

THAT WITHOUT THE ASSISTANCE OF THE FANATICISM WHICH WAS CROMWELL'S LADDER—WITHOUT ANY MILITARY PRETENSIONS—*and unaided by any thing like the moral influence of Buonaparte's unparalleled renown*;—that SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, in the full belief of my soul, *aimed at equal supremacy with* BOTH.

Whether I am right or wrong, lies be-

ween Heaven and Sir Francis Burdett. My friend Sir Francis often asks his rivals at Brentford, what are their principles? and they, 'like dumb statues,' never retort the interrogatory. If Sir Francis will develope his, I answer for it, that his principles will consist of nothing but some of those common places, about the sufferings of the people, and the wonders *he* will do for them, which every man has practised from Pisistratus to Cæsar; from Cæsar to Cromwell; and from Cromwell to Buonaparté; whom genius or fortune, acting upon popular stupidity and public baseness, has raised to domination over his fellow citizens.——With all my profound personal regard for Sir Francis Burdett, I cannot consent to make him prefect, or consul, or protector, or king or emperor of England; and for that reason, though I believe Mr. Paull not to be aware of the movements of the planet under which he has placed his destinies, I cannot advise any man to give his vote for Mr. Paull.——D. O'Bryen.——*Craven Street, Nov.* 16, 1806.

Major Cartwright's Observations on the above Letter.

Sir—I have just read Mr. O'Bryen's account of his "most marvellous discovery"—"That without the assistance of the fanaticism which was Cromwell's ladder—without any military pretensions—and unaided by any thing like the moral influence of Bonaparte's unparalleled renown—that Sir Francis Burdett, in the full belief of Mr. O'Bryen's soul, aimed at *equal supremacy* with both."—This Gentleman then says—"If Sir Francis will develope his principles, he will answer for it, that his principles will consist of nothing but some of those common places, about the sufferings of the people, and the wonders *he* will do for them, which every man has practised from Pisistratus to Cæsar; from Cæsar to Cromwell; and from Cromwell to Bonaparte—whom genius or fortune, acting upon popular stupidity and public baseness, have raised to domination over his fellow-citizens."—Now, Sir, as it appears to me, who am a plain man, if Mr. O'Bryen believed the aims of Sir Francis Burdett to correspond with those of men who by the greatest wickedness, established themselves in despotic power on the ruins of public liberty, he must possess a whimsical kind of patriotism and morality, to say of this very man, that, had he "a little more "warmth of temper, he should as soon co-"vet as a *connection*, and cultivate as a "*Friend*, as any individual in existence."—But it seems that Mr. O'Bryen's "most marvellous discovery" was made in September, 1802, and that he immediately mentioned in letters to Mr. Fox, and the late Duke of Bedford, that he had made such a discovery. To the Duke he also says—"I shall impart it only to Mr. Fox; he may to your Grace, if he likes." We are, therefore, to presume, that when Mr. Fox returned from Paris (where he then was) this sagacious Gentleman did not fail to embrace the first opportunity of imparting a discovery of so much importance.—Had, then, Mr. Fox, whose penetration was not, perhaps, less than that of his correspondent, himself made a like discovery, it is not probable that he could afterwards, in any respect, have favoured the political efforts of the Baronet for rising in power. But during the election of 1804, I can bear testimony, formed on a correspondence with the deceased Statesman, to the warm interest he took in the success of Sir Francis Burdett.—On the subject of the Baronet's *principles*, Mr. O'Bryen writes with an "IF."—If Sir Francis *will develope*."—Is any man, except Mr. O'Bryen, ignorant of the Baronet's principles? Was any man ever more frank, or more explicit, than the Baronet, in this respect? He has repeatedly told his Countrymen, that his leading object is *a Restoration of the People's Right to a fair and substantial Representation in Parliament*; and he has told them truly, that nothing but this *can save the State*. If Mr. O'Bryen's "connections" have taught him to treat this question, as one of the "common places about the sufferings of the People," as a phrase without other meaning, than to act "upon *popular stupidity* and *public baseness*," for raising a man "to domination over his fellow-citizens," then what he has revealed as a "most marvellous discovery," amounts only to this, that, in his opinion, Sir Francis Burdett is no better than many who have gone before him; while at the same time this same Gentleman describes the Baronet as a man of most consummate virtue—one who, had he but "a little more warmth of temper, he should covet as a *connection* and a *Friend*."—Now, Sir, if this reader of human hearts, this sagacious politician, can discover any other means than those for which Sir Francis Burdett contends, of *saving the State*—if he can discover any other nostrum for the preservation of our liberties, than restoring to us *a fair and substantial Representation in Parliament*, it will be a "most marvellous discovery" indeed! The idea is perfectly original, that actually to

give men *political liberty*, is the way to make them *slaves*. Had this been the natural effect of a Reform of Parliament, I need not have spent half my life in contending for it. I should have needed but to have announced the "marvellous discovery." From Lord North I should have had a Vote of Thanks; and my Country would have had the Reform thirty years ago.—*Will's Coffee House, Searle-street, Nov.* 17, 1806. JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*Fourteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.—Dessau, Oct.* 22, 1806.

Marshal Davoust arrived on the 20th at Wittemburg, and surprised the bridge upon the Elbe, at the moment when the enemy was setting fire to it. Marshal Lannes is arrived at Dessau; the bridge was burnt; he immediately set men to work to repair it. Marquis Lucchesini presented himself at the advanced posts with a letter from the King of Prussia. The Emperor sent the Grand Marshal of his palace, Duroc, to confer with him.—Magdeburgh is blockaded. The General of Division, Legrand, on his march against Magdeburgh, made a few prisoners. Marshal Soult has his posts round the city. The Grand Duke of Berg sent thither his Chief of the Staff-General, Belliard. This general saw the Prince of Hohenlohe. The language of the Prussian officers was greatly changed. They loudly demand peace. "What does your Emperor want, say they? Will he always pursue us with the sword in our loins? We have not a moment's rest since the battle." These gentlemen were doubtless accustomed to the manœuvres of the war of seven years. They demanded three days to bury their dead. "Think of the living," answered the Emperor, "and leave to us the care of burying the dead; there is no need of a truce for that." Confusion is at its highest pitch in Berlin. All the good citizens, who grieved at the false direction given to the policy of their country justly reproach the firebrands excited by England, with the sad effects of their contrivances. The cry against the Queen is general throughout the country. It appears that the enemy are endeavouring to rally behind the Oder. The Sovereign of Saxony has thanked the Emperor for the generosity with which he has treated him, and which is going to wrest him from Prussian influence. However, a good number of his soldiers have lost their lives in this squabble.

Fifteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Wittenberg, Oct. 22.——Here is the intelligence we have collected concerning the causes of this strange war: Gen. Schmettau (dead, a prisoner at Weimar), drew up a memorial, written with much force, in which he established, that the Prussian army ought to regard itself as dishonoured; that it was, notwithstanding, in a state to beat the French; and that it was necessary to make war.—General Ruchel (killed) and Blucher (who only saved himself by a subterfuge, and by abusing the French good faith) subscribed this memoir, which was drawn up in the form of a petition to the King. Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia (killed) supported it by every species of sarcasm. The flame spread through every head. The Duke of Brunswick, (wounded very badly) a man enrolled in the war faction. In short, the memoir, thus supported, was presented to the King. The Queen undertook to dispose the mind of the King, and to make known to him what was thought of him. She reported to him that he was not thought brave, and that if he did not make war, it was because he was afraid of putting himself at the head of his army. The King, really as brave as any Prussian Prince, gave way, without ceasing to preserve the opinion that he committed a great fault. We should signalize the men who have not partaken of the illusions of the war partizans. These are the respectable Field Marshal Mollendorf and General Kalkreuth. We are assured, that after the fine charge of the 9th and 10th regiments of hussars, at Saalfeld, the King said, 'You pretended that the French cavalry was worth nothing; see, nevertheless, what the light cavalry is doing, and judge what cuirassiers will do. These troops have acquired their superiority by fifteen years fighting. As many are necessary in order to equal them; but who among us could be so much the enemy of Prussia, as to desire this terrible proof?' The Emperor, already master of the communications and magazines of the enemy, wrote, on the 12th of this month a letter which he sent to the King of Prussia, by the orderly officer, Montesquieu. This officer arrived at four in the afternoon of the 13th, at the quarters of General Hohenlohe, who kept him there, and took the letter of which he was the bearer. The camp of the King of Prussia was about two leagues behind. That Prince should therefore have received the letter of the Emperor at six in the evening at the latest. We are, however assured that he did not receive it till nine

o'clock in the morning on the 14th; that is to say, when the battle was already begun. ——It is also mentioned, that the King of Prussia said then—' If this letter had arrived sooner, perhaps we might not have fought; but these young men's heads are so high, that if there had been question here of peace yesterday, I should not have led back a third of my army to Berlin.' The King of Prussia had two horses shot under him, and he received a musket ball in his sleeve. The Duke of Brunswick has had all the blame in this war. He has ill conceived, and ill directed the movements of the army. He thought the Emperor was at Paris when he found him on his flanks; he thought to have the lead in the movements, and he found himself already turned. As for the rest, on the morning of the battle, consternation was already among the chiefs.' They perceived that they were ill posted, and that they were going to play the last stake of the Monarchy. They all said, ' Well! we shall pay in person!' The common sentiment of men who preserve little hope. The Queen was always to be found at the head-quarters at Weimar. It was necessary at last to tell her that circumstances were serious, and that on the morrow great events for the Prussian monarchy might occur. She was desirous that the King should bid her go away, and in effect she was reduced to the necessity of going away. Lord Morpeth, sent by the Court of London to buy the Prussian blood; a mission really unworthy of a man like him; arrived on the 11th, at Weimar, charged to make seducing offers, and to propose considerable subsidies. The horizon was already very cloudy; the cabinet was not willing to see this envoy; he was told, that perhaps there was little safety for his person, and they engaged him to return to Hamburgh, there to wait the event. What would the Duchess of Devonshire have said, had she seen her kinsman charged with spreading the flame of war, and coming to offer poisoned gold, obliged sadly to retrace his steps in so great haste? One cannot repress one's indignation to see England compromise the rank of respectable agents, and play a part so odious. We have as yet no news of a treaty between Prussia and Russia, and it is certain, that up to this day, no Russian has appeared in the Prussian territory. In other respects the army desire much to see them: they will find another Austerlitz in Prussia.——There is at Leipsic such a quantity of English goods, that sixty millions have been already offered to redeem them. It is asked what will England gain by all this? She might have recovered Hanover; kept the Cape of Good Hope; preserved Malta; made an honourable peace, and restored tranquillity to the world. She was willing to excite Prussia against France to provoke the Emperor and France: Well! she has conducted Prussia to her ruin, procured greater glory for the Emperor, and greater powers for France; and the time approaches when we may declare England in a state of Continental blockade. Is it then with blood that the English hope to feed their commerce and reanimate their industry? Great mischiefs may come upon England: Europe will attribute them to the loss of that honest man and minister, who wished to govern by great and liberal ideas, and whom the English will one day deplore with tears of blood. The French columns are already marching upon Potsdam and Berlin. Deputies from Potsdam are arrived to request protection. The imperial head-quarters are now at Wittenberg.

Sixteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

The Duke of Brunswick has sent his Marshal of the Palace to the Emperor. That officer was entrusted with a letter, in which the Duke recommended his states to the protection of his Majesty. The Emperor said to him, " If I were to demolish the city of Brunswick, and if I did not leave one stone upon another, what would your prince say? Does not the law of retaliation authorise me to do at Brunswick what he would have done in my capital? To threaten to destroy cities may be merely the act of madness; but to attempt to deprive a whole army of brave men of their honour, to propose to them to quit Germany at stated marches, is what posterity will hardly credit. The Duke of Brunswick ought not to have committed such an outrage. Men who have grown grey under arms should respect the honour of military men; it was not in the plains of Champagne that that general acquired the right to treat the French colours with such contempt. Such a summons only dishonours the soldier who makes it. That dishonour does not belong to the King of Prussia: it attaches to the chief of his military council, to the general to whom, in difficult circumstances, he had confided his affairs. It is the Duke of Brunswick alone whom France and Prussia can accuse of the war. The frenzy of which that old general set the example, encouraged a set of turbulent young men, and hurried on the King contrary to his own disposition and convic-

tion. Sir, tell the inhabitants of the country of Brunswick, that they will find the French generous enemies; that I wish to soften the rigours of war with regard to them; and that the inconvenience which the passage of troops may occasion, will be against my inclination. Tell General Brunswick that he shall be treated with all the attention due to a Prussian officer, but that I cannot recognise a sovereign in a Prussian general. If the House of Brunswick lose the sovereignty of its ancestors it can only be ascribed to the author of two wars, who, in one, would have sapped the great capital to its foundation; and who, in the other, attempted to dishonour 200,000 brave men, who perhaps might be conquered, but who would never be surprised out of the path of honour and glory. Much blood has been shed in a few days. Great disasters press upon the Prussian monarchy. How blameable is the man, who by a single word might have prevented them, if, like Nestor, rising in the midst of the councils, he had said, "Be silent, ye inconsiderate youth!" Women, return to your spindles, and to the management of your domestic concerns! And you, Sire, believe the companion of the most illustrious of your predecessors; since the Emperor Napoleon does not wish for war, do not place him in the alternative of war or dishonour. Do not engage yourselves in a dangerous contest with an army, that boast of fifteen years spent in glorious labours, and that victory has accustomed to every sacrifice." Instead of holding this language which agreed so well with the prudence of his years, and with the experience of so long a career, he has been the first to raise the cry of war; he has even been faithless to the ties of consanguinity, in arming a son against his father: he has threatened to place his colours on the Palace of Stutgard, and accompany those proceedings with invectives against France: he was declared the author of that frantic manifesto, which he has denied for these fourteen years, although he could not deny that he had given it the sanction of his signature."——It has been remarked, that during this conversation, the Emperor with that warmth with which he is often animated, often repeated, "to overturn and destroy the habitations of peaceable citizens, is a crime which can be repaired by time and expence; but to dishonour an army, to wish that it should fly from Germany before the Prussian Eagle, is a baseness that none but the person who advised it, could be capable of committing."

Seventeenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Potzdam, Oct. 25.—The corps of Marshal Lannes arrived here on the 24th. Marsha Davoust's corps entered Berlin on the 26th at ten in the morning. The corps of Mar shal Prince of Ponte-Corvo is at Brande burgh, Marshal Augereau's corps will ente Berlin to-morrow, the 26th. The Empero arrived at Potzdam yesterday, and entere the Palace. In the afternoon he went to in spect the new Palace of Sans Souci, and th country in the environs of Potzdam: h found the situation and the building ver pleasant. He staid some time in the cham ber of Frederick the Great, the hanging and furniture of which are the same now a at the time of his decease. Prince Ferdi nand, the brother of the Great Frederick, re mains at Berlin. There are 500 pieces o cannon in the arsenal of Berlin, several hun dred weight of powder, and a great quantity of arms. General Hulin is nominated Go vernor of Berlin. The Grand Duke of Berg is gone to Spandau, to follow a Prussian co lumn which is marching from that place to Stettin, and which we are in hopes of cut ting off. Marshal Ney's corps blockades Magdeburg. Marshal Soult's corps passed the Elbe a day's journey from Magdeburg and followed the enemy to Stettin.——The result of the celebrated oath, taken upon the tomb of the Great Frederick, on the 4th of November, 1805, was the battle of Auster litz, and the evacuation of Germany by the Russian army, by forced marches. Forty eight hours after this event, a plate was en graved, and exposed in all the shops, and which excited even the ridicule of the peo sants. Here were seen the Great Emperor of Russia; near him the Queen, and on the other side the King, raising his hand over the tomb of the Great Frederick: the Queen herself, covered with a shawl, much in the same manner as the London engravers re present Lady Hamilton, rests her hand on her heart, looking at the Emperor of Russia. One cannot conceive how the police of Ber lin could suffer such a pitiful satire to be dis seminated. At any rate, the shade of the Great Frederick could not but have been of fended at such a scandalous scene. His mind, his genius, and his wishes were with that nation which he had so much esteemed, and of which he said, that "if he was their king, a cannon-shot should not be fired in Europe without his permission."

Eighteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Potsdam, Oct. 26.——The Emperor has been to view the tomb of Frederick the Great. The remains of this great man are enclosed in a wooden coffin covered with copper. It is placed in a vault, without any

ornaments, any trophies of victory; without any distinction to recal the memory of his great and heroic actions. The Emperor has presented to the Hotel of the Invalids at Paris, the sword of the Great Frederick, the ribbon of his Order, the Black Eagle, and also the colours which he took in the Seven Years' War. The old invalids of the Hanoverian army will receive every thing with a kind of religious veneration which belongs to one of the greatest generals in the annals of history. Lord Morpeth, the English envoy to the Prussian court, was only six hours distance from the field of battle, on the 14th He heard the firing. A courier informed him that the battle was lost, and in a moment after he was surrounded by fugitives pouring in upon him on all sides. He ran away exclaiming, "I must not be taken." He offered 60 guineas for a horse; he obtained one and fled. The citadel of Spandau, three miles from Berlin, and four from Potsdam, strong by its situation, in the midst of water, having a garrison of 1200 men, and a great quantity of ammunition and provisions, was surrounded in the night of the 24th. Gen. Bertrand, the Emperor's aid-de-camp, had previously reconnoitred the place. The cannon was ready to open upon it, and the garrison began to be alarmed, when Marshal Lannes proposed the capitulation subjoined to be signed by the Commandant. Large magazines of tents, clothing, &c. have been found at Berlin; we are employed in taking inventories. The Prince of Hatzfeld; Busching, the superintendant of the police; the President Kerchiffen; Formey, a privy counsellor; M. M. Ruesk, Siegren, Hermensdorf, counsellors, sent as deputies by the City of Berlin, have this morning delivered the keys of the place to his Majesty at Potzdam. They were accompanied by M. Groote, counsellor of finance, and the Barons Vichnitz and Eckarlstein. The head-quarters are at Charlottenburg.—[By the capitulation the officers are to go where they please. The privates are prisoners of war.

Nineteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Charlottenburgh, Oct. 27.—The Emperor left Potzdam at twelve o'clock, to inspect the fortress of Spandau. He has charged Gen. Chasseloup, commandant of the engineers, with improving the fortifications of that place. This is a fine piece of work; the magazines are magnificent, and meal, oats, &c. have been found in them sufficient to serve the army for two months; besides ammunition sufficient to double the provision for the whole of the artillery. To give an idea of the uncommon confusion which prevailed in the Prussian monarchy, it is sufficient to say, that the Queen, upon her return from her ridiculous and lamentable journey to Erfurt and Weimar, passed a whole night at Berlin without seeing a single person; that the people were, for a long time, without knowing where the King was: that no person took any care for the safety of the capital; and that the citizens were compelled to unite, in order to form a provisional government. Contempt for the authors of the war has reached the highest point. The manifesto, which the people of Berlin call a scandalous libel, and in which not one single complaint is brought forward, has inflamed the public mind against its author, a needy scribbler of the name of Gentz; one of those men devoid of honour, who suffer themselves to be bought for gold. The whole world is witness, that the Queen has been the cause of all the reverses to which the Prussians have been exposed. Every where we hear it said, "A year ago she was so good, so kind; but how is she changed since the fatal meeting between the Emperor Alexander and his Prussian Majesty?"——In the palaces there was not the least order observed, so that the sword of the Great Frederick was easily found at Potzdam together with the scarf which he wore during the seven years' war; also the insignia of the Black Eagle. The Emperor took these trophies with transport, saying, "I would rather have these than twenty millions:" then pausing a little, he added, "I shall send these to my old soldiers, who served in the war of Hanover; I shall present them to the governor of the invalids: in that hotel they shall remain."——After the Queen withdrew from Potzdam, the portrait of the Emperor of Russia was found, which she had received from that monarch. At Charlottenburg was found the correspondence between the Emperor of Russia and the King for three years past, together with some memorials written by English authors, to prove that nations were under no obligation to observe any treaty made with the Emperor Napoleon, but that it was necessary for every power to range itself on the side of the Emperor of Russia. These documents ought to form historical records: they shew, if it was necessary, how unfortunate princes are when they suffer women to interfere in state affairs. The notes, reports and state papers were scented with musk, and lay mingled together on the Queen's toilette. This princess had turned the heads

of all the women in Berlin. But now another change has succeeded. The first fugitives that took refuge there were received with contempt, and they were reminded of the day when they flourished their swords upon the plains of Berlin, they pretended to cut down all that opposed them.—General Savary, sent off with a detachment of cavalry to seek the enemy, has informed us that Prince Hohenlohe, compelled to leave Magdeburg, was on the 25th between Rathenau and Ruppin, retreating to Stettin.—Marshal Lannes is already at Zehdenick; and it is probable that the remains of the enemy will not escape without being attacked.—This morning a corps of Bavarians were to enter Dresden; but we have not yet received any advices upon the subject.—Prince Louis Ferdinand, who was killed at the opening of the campaign, was publicly nick-named the Little Duke of Orleans, at Berlin. This young man abused the King's goodness to such a degree, that he even scandalized him. He was one, who, with some other young officers, broke the windows of Count Haugwitz, on the night when that minister returned from Paris. We are at a loss to know which to admire most, the audacity or the weakness of that young man.—A great part of the effects, sent away from Berlin to Magdeburg, and embarked upon the Oder, has been intercepted by the light cavalry. Upwards of sixty schuyts have been brought back, loaded with cloathing, meal, and artillery. Some of the regiments of hussars have made prisoners to the amount of upwards of 500,000 francs; and it is reported that they exchange their silver for gold, with a loss of fifty per cent.—The palace of Charlottenburg, where the Emperor resides, is situated one mile from Berlin, upon the Spree.

Twentieth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Charlottenburg, Oct. 27.——As the military movements are no longer uncertain, they are still more interesting, by the contrivances of marches and manœuvres. The indefatigable Grand Duke of Berg was at Zehdenick on the 26th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, with a brigade of light cavalry under General Lasalle, while the division of dragoons under the Generals Beaumont and Crouchy were marching to the same point. —The brigade under General Lasalle presented itself to the enemy, who opposed it with 6,000 cavalry. This was the whole of the cavalry of the Prussian army that had escaped from Magdeburg, forming the advanced guard of Prince Hohenlohe's corps, directing their march towards Stettin.—— At four in the afternoon, when both divisions of the cavalry had arrived, General Lasalle attacked the enemy with his usual intrepidity, which has always formed the character of the French hussars and yagers in the present war. The enemy's line, though formed three deep, was broken; they were pursued into the village of Zehdenick, and thrown into confusion in the defiles. The Queen's regiment of dragoons endeavoured to recover themselves, but the dragoons of Grouchy's division soon shewed themselves, fell upon the enemy, and made dreadful havock among them. A part of these 6,000 cavalry were driven into the morasses; 300 remained upon the field; 700 with their horses were made prisoners. The colonel and a great number of officers of the Queen's regiment are included. The colours of the regiment are taken. Marshal Lannes' corps is in full march to support our cavalry. The cuirassiers are marching in columns to the right wing, and another corps is advancing towards the Gransee. We shall be at Stettin before the army that are marching there; which, being out-flanked, is as good as cut off already. Undisciplined as they are, there is reason to hope that not a man of them will escape, and that the whole of that part of the Prussian army, which lost two days, without any advantage at Magdeburg, in order to collect themselves will not be able to reach the Oder.——The above mentioned affair at Zehdenick, as a martial achievement, is remarkable; neither party had any infantry; but that the Prussian cavalry is much inferior to ours, is proved by the events of this campaign. They have never been able to make a stand against half their number of French.—One of the adjuncts of the general staff taken prisoner by the enemy in Thuringia, as he was carrying orders to Marshal Mortier, was conveyed to Custrin, where he saw the king. He says, that very few troops had arrived on that side of the Oder either there or at Stettin; he scarcely saw any infantry.

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